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PREHISTORIC AND PRESENT COMMERCE AMONG THE ARCTIC COAST ESKIMO

by

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Prehistoric and Present Commerce among the Arctic Coast Eskimo.

By V. Stefánsson.

If, with reference to the Eskimo, we are to call *prehistoric* all the time that antedates the first visit to them of a white man who puts on record some information concerning them, then some tribes of Eskimo even now may be in the prehistoric period, for it is not certain that there are not tribes whose very names and existence are unknown to us. From this point of view, prehistoric time may include not only to-day but to-morrow. In the following discussion, it will appear just what is meant by "prehistoric" in the case of each tribe or section of the country. In general the past will be inferred from the present condition supplemented by some apparently reliable information through word of mouth.

So far as a research might be based on the published or unpublished accounts of the explorers of the past, this essay will be found wanting, for the sources are not at hand where this is written.

There are three things that chiefly determine the character of Eskimo commerce: the geographic conditions that make

Phonetic Note. The alphabet used in spelling Eskimo names is that of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, slightly modified: *ġ*=*g* in Icelandic *saga* or Norwegian *dag*; *ṙ*=the German guttural *r*, while *r* is as in English; *s* always has a sibilant sound, nearly, but not quite, equal to English *sh*; *tj*=English *ch* in *church*. Other variations from the Bureau of Ethnology alphabet occur, but are of little consequence.

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certain routes of travel more feasible than others; the character of the natural resources of the different districts; and the distribution of the peopled areas (as well as the degree of friendliness of their inhabitants).

In the Eskimo country the great highway of travel is the sea. This is generally known and frequently reiterated by students of the subject, but so habituated are many of us to mentally defining a sea route as a water route, that in making the above statement we speak a fact while we think a fiction. The sea is indeed the commercial highway, not, however, as water but as ice; not as a medium for boat travel so much as (in many districts) the *sine qua non* of rapid sled travel and the hauling of heavy loads by dog teams. Nowhere between Baffinland and Smith sound on the east and Cape Bathurst on the west, did boats probably ever play a considerable part in trade; certain portions of the Greenland coast were about the only localities where the boat completely supplanted the sled. From Cape Bathurst west to Mackenzie delta the use of boats was not interfered with so much by ice conditions as by the fact that the summer season here was the harvest season more absolutely than in most districts, not only because of the annual coming of the caribou, but chiefly because the various sorts of whales, upon which the Eskimo depended for food, fuel, and light, frequented the coast during most of the summer and engrossed the people's attention, while in winter and spring they had plenty of leisure for travel and for trading. The whales pass the Alaska coast earlier in the season and people there have the summer freer; but without sleds such journeys as those of the Point Barrow people east to Barter island and back again, could not have been accomplished. They, therefore, hauled both boats and trading gear on sleds well towards the Colville river as well as a greater or lesser part of the way back, except in the most favourable seasons. It might be hastily concluded that on Bering strait at least, in the commerce between Asia and Alaska, the boat supplanted the sled entirely. It did not, however. In our camp, as I write, is a young man of Port Clarence, Alaska, whose father and older brothers, up to a few years ago, made

frequent sled trips from their home to the Asiatic side to buy reindeer skins of the Siberian deermen.

So far as the writer knows, it was only in Alaska and near Hudson bay that the rivers played an important commercial rôle. Indians and Eskimo made use of the Yukon. The several rivers north of the Yukon brought the inland Eskimo to the coast, where they bought wares whose ultimate source was in distant Eskimo, Indian, or Siberian communities. Either by boats, or by sleds carrying boats, parties then bent on trade ascended the Kuwûk and Noatak rivers, carried their boats by sled over to the upper Colville, and descended by boats to the sea to meet the Point Barrow people near the western edge of the Colville delta, or traversed one of the easterly delta channels, by which routes they sometimes made their way as far east as Barter island. There was some trade intercourse between the Athabaskan Indians, and the Mackenzie Eskimo on that river and between the Athabaskans and the Coronation Gulf Eskimo on the Coppermine or near it, but in neither of these cases did the waterways, as such, play an important part—indeed the Coppermine can hardly be called navigable and, although portions of it were now and then used by Indians as canoe routes, the Eskimo probably never took their kayaks farther up than Bloody fall, nine miles from the sea. (They do not seem ever to have had umiaks). Chesterfield inlet and the rivers flowing into it were no doubt formerly, as now, ascended by Hudson Bay Eskimo for purpose of trade with the Back river, Arctic coast, and Victoria Island people.

An interesting light is thrown upon the past history of the Athabaskans of Great Slave lake, as well as upon that of the Eskimo, by the fact that, in the early days of the fur trade, these Indians made long and difficult journeys to the Hudson Bay trading posts by a circuitous southern route which was recommended neither by abundance of game (for they frequently starved), nor by navigability of rivers, while (as David T. Hanbury's explorations have shown) there existed a direct route well supplied with game and consisting of readily navigable rivers and lakes—the Akilinik River route still so much used by the Eskimo. Either the Indians did not know of this route, or

else they knew it was in the possession of the Eskimo of whom they must in that case have been afraid.[1]

Two important overland trade routes (or two sections of the same route) connected the Mackenzie river and Alaska, probably even in the earliest times, with Hudson bay and the Baffinland region. One of these led from the Arctic coast near Ogden bay directly south across Back river (where the people of that river were incidentally met by the coast traders), to the wooded section of the Akilinik between the meridians 106 degrees and 104 degrees west. This route is recommended by no special geographic conditions other than the abundance of game and fish, but it must always have been an important one because it furnished with articles of wood a large section of the north coast of the mainland as well as the populous island settlements. A continuation of this route led (and leads to-day) north across the ice from Ogden bay to Albert Edward bay, Victoria island, and on through Victoria island west by the Ekallūktōk river, which flows into the head of Albert Edward bay, and the Kagloryuak, which falls into the head of Prince Albert sound. These rivers head close together near the middle of Victoria island. This route then led west through Prince Albert sound, crossed to Banks island from Cape Wollaston to Cape Collinson or Cape Cantwell, followed the coast southwest to Nelson head and crossed the sea south to Cape Parry, and thence followed the coast westward. This was in its entirety a sled route except that pack dogs were used between Back river and the Akilinik, and sometimes some distance north of Back river, as well as in the middle of Victoria island, for these sections were traversed in summer. The entire route is still in active use, except the section between Cape Parry and Nelson head, for Cape Parry has long been depopulated and the people at Cape Bathurst have been for more than half a century entirely concerned with white men's wares, obtained first from neighbours of their own race from the west, and later from white men directly. It is remarkable that, although a long time has elapsed since the Hudson's Bay Company and the Scotch

[1] Books are not at hand for exact citations. Consult, however, Alexander Mackenzie's account of the fur trade, and Daniel T. Hanbury's narrative of his exploration of the Akilinik river.

whalers began to trade in Hudson bay, yet articles of wood still form more than half the entire power-in-exchange of what the trading parties bring home to Victoria island from their visits to the Akilinik. Though we do not know how many centuries have elapsed since these trading expeditions first began, we can say definitely that their object, in so far as they were undertaken by northerners, must have been then the same as it is now—the securing of materials for bows, arrows, lances and spears, snow shovels, dishes, sleds, snow house floors, etc.

The rapidity of trade movement is a question of interest. Beginning at the west, we may trace to advantage some Siberian article, such as a metal knife, that might conceivably have been passed on eastward without falling on the way into the hands of anyone who delayed it by owning it for use. Whether it had come across Bering strait by sled in winter or boat in summer, it would most likely be started on its way to the Colville from (say) Kotzebue sound, through purchase at a summer trading rendezvous on the coast, by Kuwûk or Noatak people who had descended to the sea in boats. These would return up the rivers to hunt the caribou, while the skins were good for clothing and while the animals were fat (in August and September). Not until the days lengthened in the following spring, could the knife easily get to the Colville, but in March or April trading parties would set out to sled over the Arctic divide and in June they would descend the river to (say) the trading centre of Nir̂lik near the western edge of the Colville delta, where they might trade the knife to a Barrow man going east to Barter island, or they might take the knife to Barter island themselves. Here it would be traded to Mackenzie River (Herschel island) Eskimo in mid-summer, just a year after leaving the coast west of Alaska. By open water it would reach Herschel island or might even get so far east as the east edge of the Mackenzie delta. If we were to suppose the knife to have reached the Barrow people from the west (viz. Point Hope, say), its course would be a little more devious probably, and its progress slower.

The preceding paragraph is based on inquiries of various people now resident at Cape Smythe (Point Barrow) or east of

there, who themselves came from the west coast along the Arctic or oftener by the Colville route.

There is no information available as to the rapidity of trade movement between the western edge of the Mackenzie delta and Baillie island (Cape Bathurst), for the people of these places almost formed one community, visiting backwards and forwards, and there were no set trade expeditions. It is, however, only conservative to say that the winter from October to March would easily give an article time to get as far east as Cape Parry, from where journeys are said never to have been made to Nelson head except late in March or early in April. If our hypothetical knife had been on its journey 200 years ago, it would no doubt have found then, as we would find now, that well into April the Prince Albert Sound people of Victoria island are at Nelson head hunting bears. They soon start east, however, for they do not spend their summers in Banks island. By the middle of May the entire tribe nears the head of Prince Albert sound and here a few sleds, bent on trade to the eastward, hurry ahead. They ascend the Kagloryuak, descend the Ekallūktōk, and meet the Ekallūktōġmīūt on Albert Edward bay. A few sleds of this tribe join them and all proceed south to the Asiaġmīūt, whom they find near Ogden bay. A portion of this tribe also is going south to the Akilinik river, and representatives of the three tribes join forces. They cannot go far by sled, for summer overtakes them, but loading their dogs and themselves with backloads they "pack" south until they reach Back river, where they find people of that locality with whom they trade and who ferry them in their kayaks across the river. Resuming their "packing" they proceed to the Akilinik above Schulze lake, reaching it in midsummer, two years from the time our knife was traded for on the west coast of Alaska. On the Akilinik are Hudson Bay Eskimo, or at least Eskimo from near Hudson bay, come to get wood and to trade with the westerner. Sometime during the coming winter our knife, if bought by them, might reach salt water. We can say then that the minimum time in which an article by this route could pass from western Alaska to Hudson bay is about two and one-half years. Possibly so rapid a transfer never took place, but we may double the minimum and say with

some conservatism that articles could easily pass from ocean to ocean in five years.

It is probable that the trade route in question forked at Albert Edward bay—the fork still in active use has already been described (that leading south to the Akilinik). Well known archæological facts[1] indicate that another fork extended northeast across Prince of Wales island and North Devon towards Smith bay. This is made to seem likely by a glance at the chart, and is further confirmed by the statements made to me, of the Kañhiṙyūāṙmīūt, who say that the Ekallūktōġmīūt of Albert Edward bay have told them of the Turnunirohiṙmīūt, "whom they must have seen, for they tell long stories about them." According to Boas, the Tununirusiṙmīūt (a dialectic variant of the same name evidently) visit North Devon and go "farther to the west." This may anciently have been an important trade route, though now fallen much into disuse.

There is at present an overland trade route from the Akilinik to Umiñmûktok on Bathurst inlet, but it is not clear that it is an ancient one. It is the easterners who come northwest—chiefly the Back River inlanders, but also members of other tribes. My information leads me to think they came first some six or eight years ago (probably as a consequence of Hanbury's journey). They bring chiefly iron ware. Some guns have through their agency even reached Bathurst inlet. In 1911 there were no guns among any of the five Victoria Island tribes visited by us, and no member of four tribes visited had ever heard a gun fired.

Artifacts are now and then discovered on the Atlantic side of the Eskimo country that are almost or quite identical with others known from Alaska. This is considered by many ethnologists as evidence of the extraordinary conservatism of the Eskimo. The inference is that although these tribes are distant both in time and space from the land of their common origin, they still—though a continent separates them—adhere steadfastly to even the minutest and least essential details of construction employed by their forefathers when all dwelt together

[1] F. Boas, Bulletin, American Museum of Natural History, vol. XV, 1907, pp. 463-4.

in a restricted area; not that an attempt is made to minimize the conservatism of the Eskimo—one sees and hears everywhere evidences of its being a conservatism well-nigh incomprehensible to members of our race. Language, processes, and modes of thought, furnish, however, more convincing evidences of a common origin in a restricted area than do songs, tales, isolated beliefs, and portable artifacts. The Alaskan Eskimo in our employ were not quite a year in contact with the people of Coronation gulf and Victoria island, yet there are few persons now in Coronation gulf that do not know one or more songs from Port Clarence, Alaska, and the Mackenzie delta, while songs composed at Bathurst inlet will within a year or two be sung at Port Clarence, Alaska. One of the most popular songs now heard in Coronation gulf, celebrates the merits of the tea sold at Fort Macpherson, Mackenzie river, and another tells of the wreck of the whaler "Alexander" at Cape Parry (1906), yet these people, when they learnt the songs from us, had never tasted tea nor seen a ship. They talk of mountain goats (as the Greenlanders talk of mammoth) wisely, after seeing my sleeping bag and listening to the hunting adventures of one of our men. They accepted fragments of Christianity promptly on the say-so of my companions—not very orthodox Christianity naturally, for the mental processes of my men are not quite the same as those of the missionary who taught them. They had, when we first came to them, imitations of white men's articles of which few or none had seen the original—e. g., scissors. Knowing the continuity of trade routes between east and west, the rapidity of traffic, the readiness with which new ideas are adopted (modified, of course, to fit into the recipient's scheme of thought), may we not say that identity or similarity (e.g.) of needlecases in Smith sound and Alaska is as likely to be an evidence of the activity of commerce as of a common culture home and rockbound conservatism? And may not a song or story heard in Smith sound and Alaska have accompanied the needlecase from its source in Kotzebue sound? Or, be the needlecase of a material peculiar to Smith sound, then may it not have been made in imitation of an imported article, just as Coronation Gulf Eskimo to-day make scissors (of caribou

antler and bits of metal) that are imitations, at last analysis, of Sheffield scissors.

Commerce of ideas must accompany commerce in articles and materials. One who tries to decipher culture historical records from among the mass of lore and legends of a tribe gets considerable help through remembering that, though an Eskimo readily adopts new ideas and beliefs, he modifies all of them so as to make them assimilate readily with his previous ideas and beliefs, and he will neither abandon nor greatly modify his previous stock. Hence Christianity, for instance, is not replacing the old beliefs in any locality known to me, but is being superimposed upon them. Certain practices, it is true, are being abandoned—e. g., sorcery. This is not, however, from a lessened faith in the powers of the sorcerer, but because "it is wrong to practice witchcraft." There is, however, a belief (which may indeed always have existed) that the sorcerers of to-day are less powerful than those of the past.

Turning now to the natural resources of each tribe and their commercial intercourse with their neighbours, we will consider first the region between the mouth of the Yukon and the mouth of the Mackenzie. The treatment will be brief, for the reason that the writer has little first hand information regarding Alaskan trade intercourse that is not already in print in one language or another.

At Port Clarence, and other places whose people undertook journeys to Siberia, there arrived each summer, from the south, boats of the Unalit and perhaps other tribes loaded with wooden platters, buckets, dishes, and dippers, which were exchanged entirely for Siberian wares—reindeer skins, jade and other beads, metal articles and (in later times only ?) tobacco. These wooden articles were kept at Port Clarence a year, for when the Unalit arrived it was considered too late in the season for visiting Siberia, but the next year they were taken by boat across the strait. Ivory, oil, and other products of sea animals formed an important part of the cargoes, and after the Russian fur trade commenced in Siberia, and perhaps earlier, furs were carried west also. The Siberian wares which formed the return cargoes, were bartered off at the summer trading centres in Kotzebue

sound and elsewhere, and began their eastward progress by one of two routes—along the coast by Point Hope or overland northeast by the Colville route. There were also winter journeys of less commercial importance from the Bering coast in the vicinity of Kotzebue sound, to the Arctic coast west of Point Barrow.

The main eastward exports of the Bering communities were Siberian goods, beads of native stone, stone and ivory ornaments, and (to the inland tribes) blubber and oil. They received in exchange caribou skins, wolverine and wolf skins (for trimming their clothing), stone lamps, and stone pots.

At Nirlik in the Colville delta, the Barrow people sold Siberian wares, Bering coast ornaments, articles of ivory (mammoth and walrus—the mammoth chiefly found along their own rivers, the walrus purchased from the west), whale oil, whale skin, umiaks of bearded seal, walrus or white whale skin, kayaks of sealskin, sealskin waterboots, unworked sealskins and the skin of the bearded seal for boot sole material. What they chiefly received for all this was caribou skins, with a few wolf and wolverine skins and, in later times, commercial furs—fox, lynx, etc. Proceeding east to Barter island or its vicinity, they traded all the same kinds of articles except oil, whale skin, boats, and sealskin articles. What they chiefly received were stone lamps and stone pots from the Mackenzie people, wolf and wolverine skins and (latterly) other furs from the Mackenzie people and the Indians from south of the mountains towards the Yukon. Both the Barrow people and those of Mackenzie river brought white whale skins to sell, though the Barrow traders probably never had as many of these as the easterners. The purchasers must have been the Athabaskan Indians from the south and those Colville people who had come to Barter island with Siberian and Bering Straits wares.

It may be inferred that the farther east the trading place was located the fewer Siberian and other far western wares were brought to it. Dr. Richardson, if memory serves, states that, in 1846, Siberian wares were not seen by him east of Point Atkinson—they had not reached Cape Bathurst. Richardson had, however, but limited opportunities for observation. Probably

he identifies the eastern limit of Siberian goods with the eastern limits of Siberian tobacco and Chinese pipes. These had not reached Cape Bathurst when Richardson passed; thus far our own inquiries confirm his opinion, but the very fact that Siberian tobacco had almost reached Cape Bathurst might seem proof of itself that Siberian knives had reached and passed it, just as there are to-day knives from Hudson bay used in Banks island, while the tobacco habit has not passed Back river, if it has penetrated that far west. True, we have not found Siberian goods as yet in any old remains explored east of Cape Bathurst, but we have found fragments of pottery kettles[1] of the sort known to have been made by the Eskimo of western Alaska and supposed generally to have been made by them only. If they

[1] The pottery fragments referred to have been found at Langton bay and near the mouth of a small, unnamed river in the bay behind Point Stivens on the Parry peninsula. To date (July 12, 1911) several dozen pieces have been dug up. They are all small, and in no case did their position make it certain that any two belonged to the same pot. Only three small fragments of stone pots have been found in the course of the same excavations. Two of my Eskimo companions are from western Alaska—Kotzebue sound and Port Clarence. Both of them have watched the making of pottery by their own mothers and by other women of their tribes. They say that the pieces we have found are of the thickness and general appearance of western pottery, that the corners of the pots are similar and the perforations in the brim for swinging the pots are similarly placed. They differ, however, from the pottery they have seen made in the following two particulars: ptarmigan feathers were always mixed with the clay by their people while we have here found no signs of feathers of any sort; a little fine sand was used in the west mixed with the clay, while here fine gravel seems to have been used in some cases and in others cracked rock fragments probably made by pounding a friable stone with a hammer.

Our diggings near Point Stivens are in a river-cut bank. In the course of the work at a depth of four feet (sand), we found a layer of clay of unknown depth. This clay is said by my companions to be similar in appearance and consistency to that used by their parents for pottery in Alaska. In hunting, we have seen outcrops of similar clay along the river in several places.

At the present rate of accumulation we shall probably find half a bushel of pottery fragments in a hundred cubic metres of excavation. This large quantity, together with the presence of clay out of which the pots may have been made, might incline one to the view that the manufacture of pottery may have been carried on here, though that would be pushing east by a good thousand miles the known limits of the art of pottery making among the Eskimo.

In the same diggings we have found (besides a quantity of horn, bone, and stone objects of doubtless purely local origin) a lance fore-shaft of ivory (imported ?), a fish hook with copper point (the hook of the western style, but the copper doubtless from the east), and several knife handles which show by the smallness of the socket that they must have held blades thinner than any stone blades I have ever seen—probably iron blades.

are from the Alaskan coast, they and the Siberian goods must have had an even start thence for the east, and there is little doubt any metal articles would have outstripped them, for when one gets east of Bathurst one who brings pots from the west is carrying coal to Newcastle.

Between Herschel island and Cape Bathurst there do not seem ever to have been regular trading expeditions. As above pointed out, the Mackenzie delta and the vicinity were so much one community that there was promiscuous visiting back and forth at most seasons. Within this section the products and resources of one locality were so nearly identical with those of any other that the trading must have consisted chiefly in the westerners passing Alaskan wares east and the easterners passing eastern wares west.

From Cape Parry there were two trading routes to the east. The one, whose existence is to be inferred from the map, lay east along the mainland coast. The intercourse along this route has been completely forgotten by the people of Baillie island, who indeed, no doubt, seldom went farther east than Horton river—they themselves say they did not. The continuous chain of ruined houses, graves, and such signs of travel as broken sleds, paddles, etc., that connects Cape Bathurst with Cape Bexley is in itself proof enough that there was such traffic; besides, the easterners have not forgotten it, though the westerners have.

The second, less self-evident trade route led north from Cape Parry across the restless, never solidly frozen sea that separates the mainland from Banks island. The traffic here was carried on exclusively by the westerners—at least, so the Cape Bathurst people say. This accounts for the breaking off of the intercourse as soon as the westerners began to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company—the easterners did not know the route, and were afraid of the westerners, as the Rae River people were in Richardson's day and as they and all their neighbours still are. The Cape Bexley people dread the half-forgotten westerners with whom they once traded almost as much as the (to them) semi-fabulous Indians.

What the Cape Bathurst people traded east chiefly were the articles they had bought from the west; what they chiefly re-

ceived were stone lamps and stone pots. They bought some copper too, but (within the last century or two at least) not much, for they were supplied from the west with Siberian metals.

The preceding sketch has been made briefer than even the fewness of facts at the writer's command makes imperative; in dealing with the tribes from Banks island to Back river an attempt will be made at greater thoroughness, not so much because the information is more abundant as because this district, as Boas has somewhere said, "is virtually unknown."

The tribes with which it is desired to deal more fully are by Boas, the foremost of living students of the Eskimo, apparently excluded from the "Central Eskimo" group. In a work which is fortunately at hand for definite citation, he says: "The last tribe of the Central Eskimo, the Utkusiksalirmiut, inhabit the estuary of Back river" (*The Central Eskimo*, Sixth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1888). A century ago, while brisk intercourse was yet maintained, some cultural or other ground might possibly have been found for including them with their western neighbours among the Mackenzie River Eskimo, but the day for that is past. No geographic term descriptive of the district exists without being either too comprehensive (as "Arctic Coast Eskimo," cf. Hanbury), or not comprehensive enough and therefore misleading (as "Coronation Gulf Eskimo" or "Parry Island Eskimo"). Tentatively we shall in the present discussion give them a title from the chief commercial resource of their country—copper. Banks island and Back river may not define absolutely the area within which the production of implements of native copper had a decided influence on the culture of the people; on the other hand, future research may show that they do. Meantime, for our convenience in the present paper, we will refer to the below-mentioned tribes collectively as the *Copper Eskimo*. In the list, the winter residence of the tribe will be given first, and then the summer residence. Tribes visited on their own hunting grounds are designated by (1), those members which have been interviewed away from home are marked (2). The rest are known to us only through the accounts of members of other tribes.

The *Kañhiryuatjīăġmīūt*, Minto inlet, Victoria island; between Minto inlet and Walker bay.

(1) The *Kañhiryūărmīūt*, Nelson head, Banks island, and Cape Baring, Victoria island; central Victoria island.

(1) The *Haneřăġmīūt*, Dolphin and Union strait north of Cape Bexley; Victoria island south of Prince Albert sound, about long. 115°W.

(1) The *Akūlīakattăġmīūt*, Dolphin and Union strait north of Cape Bexley; the mainland about Akuliakattak lake, the source of Rae river, lat. 68°N., long. 118°W.

(1) The *Pūiblĭřmīūt*, Dolphin and Union strait near Liston and Sutton islands; Victoria island north and northeast of Simpson bay.

(1) The *Nōahŏnĭřmīūt*, Dolphin and Union strait near Lambert island; the mainland south of Lambert island.

(1) The *Ualiřyūăřmīūt*, west end of Coronation gulf; upper Rae river.

(1) The *Păllĭřmīūt*, Coronation gulf, southeast of Cape Krusenstern; mouth of Rae river and head of Dease river.

(1) The *Kōġlūktōġmīūt*, Coronation gulf, southeast of Cape Krusenstern; Bloody fall on the Coppermine, Dease river, and Great Bear lake (McTavish bay).

(1) The *Nagyūktōġmīūt* or *Killineřmīūt*, central Coronation gulf; Victoria island northeast of Lady Franklin point, the mainland east of Tree river. One family hunts habitually on Dismal lake near the head of Dease river.

The *Kīlūsiktōġmīūt*, Coronation gulf off mouth of Mackenzie river of Victoria island; Mackenzie region of Victoria island.

The *Kōġlūktūařyūmīūt*, Gray bay and the Gulf ice off that bay; mouth of the *Kōġlūktūařyuk* (which flows into Gray bay) up that river inland, and elsewhere.

(2) *The Umīñmûktōġmīūt*, Bathurst inlet at all seasons. Have talked with one woman of this tribe and obtained some information of them, but neglected the opportunity of getting from her the names of the other tribes of the vicinity. To the people about the Coppermine all those resident east of Gray bay on the mainland are known as Ūmīñmûktōġmīūt, and all those of Victoria island east of Mackenzie river are collectively known as

Kīlūsiktōġmiūt. This is really no indication of what names may exist in that district. The people of western Coronation gulf travel little and the second tribe from them in any direction is likely to give its name to all beyond. (A striking parallel case is found in Alaska, where a small, never important, and now nearly extinct tribe, the Nūnatáġmiūt, has given its name to a dozen more important tribes and now appears in their place on ethnological maps and the census schedules of the United States government. I have talked with hundreds who are called Nūnatáġmiūt, and have found only three who are Nūnatáġmiūt).

(2) The *Ekallūktōġmiūt*, Albert Edward bay; central Victoria island.

The *Ahīáġmiūt*, Ogden bay (?); inland towards Back river and to the Akilinik river.

The *Kaernermiūt* or *Kainermiūt*, Back River inland at all seasons.

It will be noticed that as to the geographic distribution of the tribes, there is a blank in our information for the south coast of Victoria island from Mackenzie river to Albert Edward bay. This district is said to be everywhere populated, but my informant knew no name for the population other than Kīlūsiktóġmiūt. There are also sure to be several tribes between Gray bay and Ogden bay on the mainland, though I could find out only the one—Umīñmûktōġmiūt. Banks island is unpeopled in summer, for it was depopulated by a series of famines, the last of which took off the last few survivors about fifteen years ago. There are no people any longer north of Minto inlet on the west coast, and there may never have been any on the north coast, for so the Prince Albert Sound people believe. It is doubtful if there are inhabitants on the east coast of Victoria island north of Albert Edward bay.

We have now named, and located to the best of our present ability, the tribes whose natural resources and trade activities are to be discussed. The treatment is based on information secured on the mainland between Cape Bexley and Gray bay, and in southwestern Victoria island, between May 13, 1910, and May 17, 1911. For the first three months spent with

these people we were handicapped by difficulties in understanding their speech and in making ourselves understood. After that I had little difficulty with the language, and my native companions (from Port Clarence, Alaska, and Mackenzie river) still less. There wore off, too, during this period, the distrustful reserve with which we were in the beginning treated as the first complete strangers who had to their knowledge ever come to live among them. Naturally the main part of what we know about their present and past commerce consists of what they have told us, and of apparently safe inferences therefrom. Some things we know "of our own knowledge," however, e.g., the sources of copper, kettle-stone, pyrites; certain of the land and ice trade routes; methods of travel, rate of travel, etc.

From the point of view of what an Eskimo wants and needs, the most westerly of the now existing tribes, the Kañhiṙyūáṙmīūt, had natural resources within the limits of their annual migrations as a tribe, which must formerly, even more than now, have made them nearly or quite the most prosperous tribe of the district we are considering. Their winter seat in Banks island (near Nelson head) is well supplied with seals for food and fuel, but so abundant are the polar bears whose meat and fat they prefer to seal, that in 1910-11 over 150 of the tribe's total of about 200 lived almost exclusively on bears—"and so it was with our forefathers too". The muskoxen, whose horns furnish them material for spoons and dippers for their own use and for trade, as well as for knife handles and a dozen other articles, are perhaps more abundant in Banks island than anywhere else in the region. Certainly the Haneṙắgmīūt and Pūiblíṙmīūt have long been purchasing muskox horns and articles made of them—chiefly from the Kañhiṙyūáṙmīūt. Prince Albert sound (Kañhiryūak) from which the tribe gets its name, supplies them well with caribou in summer and autumn, and seals in the spring. The three chief rivers that fall into the head of the sound are all rich in fish which they spear and hook—nets are unknown. The south coast of the sound supplies them with driftwood sufficient for arrows and other small articles, but bows, sleds, pails, etc., they obtain by purchase. The mountains to the northeast of the sound furnish the chief article of com-

mercial importance—copper. The metal is so abundant that not only do they gather in the summer enough to supply the wants of all their neighbours and to pay for most of their own imports, but it is found in such large, pure and easily workable masses, that they are induced to make of copper various articles which even among other copper gatherers (e.g., the Kōg̣lūktōg̣mīūt of Bloody fall) are made of bone or horn, such as the middle-piece of the seal harpoon, snow testers for discovering suitable building sites in winter, "feelers" for locating seal holes, etc. They find enough fire stone (pyrites) for their own use, though not equal in quantity or quality to that found among the Haneṙág̣mīūt. Since 1855 or thereabout M'Clure's abandoned ship the "Investigator" and her caches on shore in the Bay of Mercy on north Banks island have helped the tribe to retain the mastery of the commercial situation locally. Though their last expedition to the wreck (which has long been broken up by the waves) was some fifteen or twenty years ago, articles of iron are even now more abundant and cheaper among them than among the more eastern groups who are nearer the present source of supply—Hudson bay.

At present the Sound people trade chiefly with three tribes—the Haneṙāg̣mīūt, Pūiblíṙmīūt, and Ekallūktōg̣mīūt. For a hundred or so years ago there are to be added, to our knowledge, the now extinct tribes of northwestern Victoria island and Banks island and the vanished inhabitants of Cape Parry. There may be copper in the district north of Minto inlet; there is almost certainly none in Banks island; there is quite certainly none on the mainland near Cape Parry so far as the Eskimo have discovered; this whole now deserted territory they must, therefore, have supplied with copper through indefinite periods of the past, as they now supply both southwestern and southeastern Victoria island (but not south-central Victoria island). What the western limits of the copper traffic were in early times future archaeological research may show; certainly some of it got beyond the Mackenzie delta.

Next in importance to their activities as original producers of copper, comes their traffic as middlemen in stone lamps and stone pots. They say (and the uniformity of type and material

of the pots and lamps bears witness to it) that they "always" got all their supply from the Haneŕăġmīūt and Pūiblírmīūt, while we know that these tribes bought them from the Nagyūktōġmīūt and others whose summer hunting grounds gave them access to the common source (I believe) of most stone lamps and pots east of Point Hope, Alaska—the Kōġlūktualuk river. It may seem at first sight that some lamps might have come from the more easterly, and long ago known to us, quarries near Back river, but in that case the Sound people would have received them from their most intimate friends, the Ekallūktōġmīūt, who are, and no doubt always were, their intermediaries in dealing with Back river. That this was so, is strongly negatived by the oldest now living Sound people, who say that formerly frequently, and now occasionally, they sold pots to the Ekallūktōġmīūt instead of buying from them.

The Cape Bathurst people still definitely remember that pots and lamps were the chief objects of the trips across from the mainland at Parry to Banks island. The Sound people now occupy Nelson head at the season (March) when these trips used to be made, and they say it was always so. I have, therefore, supposed they were the ones with whom the Parry people traded. The Sound people seem to have forgotten about this trade which the Bathurst people tell of, but this might be explained by supposing that the trade to them was never of great importance, that they did not know whence the visitors came, and that possibly only a few participated in the trading—the westernmost village of those which then, as now, stretched northeast from Nelson head to beyond De Salis bay. Possibly, however, the people met at Nelson head were of the proper inhabitants of Banks island who acted as middlemen between the mainland and Victoria island.

After stoneware, the chief import of the Kañhiŕyūăŕmīūt was wood, which came chiefly from the same two tribes as the stoneware, by routes which may here be conveniently described. The map shows it to be less than sixty miles across the peninsula south from the Sound to Dolphin and Union straits, but this short distance is over mountains and the Eskimo preferred to go around the southwest corner of Victoria island. The trips

were, it is said, in recent times at least, usually made by the Sound people, and always in winter, for they do not hunt on the peninsula in summer, though the Haneragmiut do. Besides pots and lamps they purchased ready-made bows, sleds, snow-shovels, wooden platters, etc., and material for arrows, tent poles, and lance shafts. For these they paid with copper and copper implements, horn dippers and spoons, caribou skins, and possibly with articles received from Cape Parry.

The second route by which wood and stone were imported was across the neck of the peninsula from the southeast. This was a summer route. A party of the Sound people every year hunts southeast to meet the Pūiblírmiūt, who hunt northeast from Simpson bay. Here in midsummer they exchange exactly the same articles as they do with the Haneragmiut in winter—the pots and lamps they get from both tribes have a common origin as above pointed out; the wooden ware received from the Haneragmiut is all of Mackenzie drift wood, that received from the Pūiblírmiūt is partly driftwood gathered by themselves or purchased from the Akūliakattagmiūt, and partly live wood from Great Bear lake, chiefly purchased from the Kōglūktōgmiūt and Pállirmiūt.

The main trade resource of the Haneragmiut is firestone (pyrites), from a creek mouth east of Point Williams, with which they supply the entire Dolphin and Union strait, and Coronation gulf as far east as Cape Barrow, at least. Wood they trade only to the Kañhiryūarmiūt. This they gather in the fore part of winter on the mainland shore in the Akūliakattagmiūt territory or purchase it of the Akūliakattag-miūt—the two tribes camp together at Cape Bexley where they are visited before or during the dark days by most of the Pūiblírmiūt and by members of other tribes as far east as the Nagyūktōgmiūt. This constitutes at Cape Bexley a sort of midwinter fair, which probably is an ancient institution. Except as onlookers at this trading gathering, the Haneragmiut do not ever seem to have played an important part in the traffic between east and west—they were not situated geographically so as to be the natural middlemen between any other tribes except in

handling stone ware, and here they were probably always far second in activity to the Pūiblírmīūt.

Of the still existing tribes the Akūlīakattág̈mīūt have about the fewest natural resources—in fact, wood only, and in the sale of it they have to compete not alone with the Hanerág̈mīūt and Pūiblírmīūt who come to gather wood at their very door, but also with all the tribes members of which habitually or occasionally visit Bear lake. They no doubt were once an important link in the commercial chain along the coast from the Gulf to Cape Parry. This traffic and the intercourse with the western (just where located?) Eskimo, whom they call Ualinermūīt, is remembered by them as well as by the Nōahónirmīūt, Ualliryumīūt, and Pállirmīūt. The westerners are disliked and feared by all, next to the Indians. There are living at Cape Bexley and elsewhere persons whose parents had their homes west along the coast well towards Cape Lyon—none of these belonged to that part of the westerners who are disliked, but we, coming from farther west, were considered to do so, and when we were found to be comparatively harmless we were said to be an improvement on our ancestors (I was by the Akūlīakattág̈mīūt considered of the same race as my companions).

What west-going traffic there was through the hands of the Akūliakattág̈mīūt must have consisted almost exclusively of stoneware, as the copper needed for the district beyond Parry would come logically from Nelson head. Of course the population between Capes Parry and Bexley may have received through the Akūlīakattág̈mīūt, copper, the ultimate source of which was either Prince Albert sound or the Coppermine river and Dismal lake. This trade may have been of some volume, for the remains indicate a considerable population along the entire coastline. What they received from the west must have been confined pretty strictly to Alaskan goods, for the country between the Colville river and Cape Bexley does not, so far as we know, produce anything which formerly or now is not as abundantly to be had east of Cape Bexley, unless it were fishnets, and of their ever having been known to the people (except by hearsay) we have found no trace.

A cosmopolitan gathering meets every summer on the north shore of McTavish bay, Great Bear lake. This is not comparable with the annual fairs of Barter island, the Colville delta, or Kotzebue sound; a parallel is found, however, even to-day, in the Akilinik River concourse—the "mysterious Akilinik of the Greenlanders" (Murdoch, quoted by Rink in a work not now at hand).[1] The characterizing thing common to Bear lake and the Akilinik river is that though there is plenty of game yet people do not come primarily to hunt; and though there is much trading, trade is not the chief object—every one who comes to either place comes to get wood for his own use and for trade with others.

In the area bounded roughly by the Coppermine on the east, Dismal lake and Kendall river on the north, Dease river on the west, and Great Bear lake on the south, there met, the summer of 1910, members of every tribe, except the Haneragmiūt, of those that frequent either shore of Dolphin and Union strait and Coronation gulf from Cape Bexley to the Kent peninsula, while we know that other years people from even as far east as Ogden bay may be found here. In other words, people who usually go to the Akilinik for wood, come to Bear lake occasionally for the same purpose. A glance at the map will show what a unifying influence these two gathering regions must have had on the culture of a large part of the Eskimo race. Even the Greenlanders knew of the Akilinik vaguely; it would be strange if careful inquiry on this head in Smith sound and Hudson strait did not bring out similar or more definite knowledge.

It may be thought that the flocking of the Eskimo to the vicinity of Bear lake is a thing of recent years, the opinion being based on the fact that none of the numerous travellers who have visited Bear lake have informed us on the subject. That they did not do so ceases to be strange when one remembers that the first and last of these had Indians for guides who know about where the Eskimo may be expected, who are in deadly fear of

[1] The Akilinik would not have remained so long "mysterious" (known only, so far as the writer is aware, through Greenlandic folk-lore) if travellers in northeastern Canada had taken the trouble to make geographic inquiries and to record the native names of conspicuous natural features.. It is one of the large rivers of Canada and one of the chief foci of commercial activity and cultural development of Arctic America.

them, and carefully avoid their haunts. Besides, the white men usually had boats and always sought to follow routes where wood could be had for fuel; this confined them to the wooded valleys of the Coppermine, Kendall, and Dease, all of which (in so far as they are wooded) the Eskimo pretty rigidly avoid, through fear of the Indians. A journey made the summer of 1910 along the routes of Dease and Simpson, Richardson, Rae, or Hanbury would have revealed not a single Eskimo, nor would a coasting voyage of Great Bear lake have done so either. The Eskimo frequent the barren highlands, camp usually among mottled boulders where their mottled little tents are seldom discernible with the naked eye at over half a mile; they do not often make fire and never make large ones, and they keep a remarkably keen watch day and night, always ready to flee on hearing the report of a gun or seeing a man, a smoke, or a fresh trail or other sign of human presence. Even after we had been with them four months it was hard to keep them from fleeing precipitately on sighting a tipi camp, which proved to be that of the English travellers Melvill and Hornby (September, 1910), near the eastern treeline of the Dease river.

The Eskimo themselves say they "always" hunted to the shore of Great Bear lake (eastern part of the north shore of McTavish bay). The oldest of the active hunters (perhaps 45 or 50 years old) told us that, when they first remember, people in greater number than now used to hunt to the lake shore. Some had never seen signs of the immediate presence of Indians; one man had twice been in a party which had had occasion to flee from the very beach of the lake—once on hearing the report of a gun; another time on seeing smoke. (It may have been through hearsay from Hudson bay that they were able to identify the report of a gun as a sign of the nearness of Indians, for this happened when a man now forty years old, at least, was a small boy, and most of them had never seen a gun fired until we hunted with them. It is possible, of course, that the memory of firearms was preserved by the Pállir̂miūt (?) whom Richardson and Rae met some fifty years ago).

As the object is woodgathering rather than trade, the people who frequent the district never have occasion to come together

at a single time and place. The largest camp we ever saw probably did not have over forty individuals and the total seen by us was not far from two hundred. There were, however, parties whom we never had the chance to see—some had come and gone before the band we were with reached Dease river (the first week in August), others came and went while we were hunting west and south of the main woodgathering place, which is a clump of remarkably heavy trees located on an eastern (unmapped) branch of the upper Dease which heads near the east end of McTavish bay and flows north, northwest, west, and last southwest to join the main Dease about twenty miles above its mouth. This clump of trees is known to the Bear Lake Slaves as "Big Stick island" and is about 25 miles, as the crow flies, from the mouth of the Dease, in a direction a little north of east.

The most westerly route from the sea to "Big Stick island" leads from the mouth of Richardson river to the narrows of Dismal lake. Here those parties that have kayaks ferry across while those without boats approach the lake some three miles farther east, where it is fordable along the west side of a group of willow-grown islands. From the narrows the road leads south about eight miles to the crest of the Great Bear Lake-Coronation Gulf divide and another eight miles down a small stream that runs through a chain of ponds to Imaeṙnirk lake, the source of the middle branch of the Dease. The road then skirts the east shore of this lake for five or six miles, passes south over another small divide (between the middle and south branches of the Dease) to "Big Stick island." This route is followed generally by members of the Pūiblíṙmīūt, Nōahṓniṙmīūt, Ualliṙyūmīūt, Pā́lliṙmīūt, Nagyūktōġmīūt, and Kōġlūktōġmīūt. In 1910 the Kōġlūktōġmīūt were the only tribe whose full strength was found south of the Dease—the others were represented by groups of a few families. There were three families from Cape Bexley (Akūlīakattā́ġmīūt). Some years the entire Kōġlūktōġmīūt tribe spends the whole summer on Bloody fall of the Coppermine, and portions of other tribes occasionally fish there too. In 1910 there were no people at all anywhere on the lower Coppermine.

Other routes, whose minutiæ are unknown to me, lead from the sea to various points west of the Kent peninsula to the Cop-

permine east of McTavish bay, cross the river there and strike the northeast corner of the bay. Those who followed this route sometimes did not get quite to "Big Stick island," for they found suitable wood in the Coppermine valley. In 1910 one party that came by it did not return by this route, but joined the Kōg̈lūktōg̈mīūt (or followed them, rather) going by the western route to the mouth of the Coppermine, and then proceeded homeward east along the ice of Coronation gulf.

Some of those bound for Great Bear lake come a greater or lesser part of the way by sled in the spring, others pack the entire distance from the sea. Some carry kayaks for spearing caribou, but these are seldom if ever brought farther south than the head of the middle Dease. In the autumn all go back to the sea by sleds made during the summer. Most returning families have, therefore, a sled to sell, for their old sleds are waiting for them on or near the coast. It is these sleds that eventually find their way to all parts of Victoria island and along the mainland towards Ogden bay until they meet the sleds that have come similarly from the Akilinik.

Immediately on arrival in the summer, at a source of suitable timber, trees are chopped down (with adzes—it is a half-day's job to chop down a tree 18 inches in diameter) and adzed into planks or "roughed" into other suitable shapes. These are then set to dry and the party proceeds south or west in search of game. In the autumn when ice begins to form on the smallest ponds the parties straggle to "Big Stick island" or to wherever their wood has been set to dry. Sleds are first made, and if the season is early, few other articles are finished, but are carried "in the rough" to the seacoast by the first suitable fall of snow. In 1910 the season was late, however, and while they waited on it, the men finished new bows, spear shafts, platters, pails, tables, planks for snowhouse floors, etc. Finally their supply of dried caribou meat ran low and some of them started off carrying their belongings on their backs north towards the divide, for they can always be sure of finding snow for their sleds at that season (the middle of October) when they near Dismal lake.

In travelling by sled these Eskimo make short halts every four or five miles. Every such place is marked by a pile of shavings, for they are eager to get their wares in shape for sale on the coast; besides, the finished article is lighter to carry than the "rough" out of which it was made.

All the people who come to Great Bear lake by a route west of the Coppermine river find copper enough for their own use in the mountains north of Dismal lake. There seems to be plenty of the metal, but it is not found in such large masses nor so pure as in Victoria island. It is well suited for arrow and spear heads, however, though a piece large enough for a good knife or ice-pick is only rarely found. Some of the copper found here each summer is traded to members of the same tribes who have hunted in copperless districts, but little or none is sold to other tribes—indeed, both Victoria island and Bathurst inlet are better supplied than they. Those who come to Great Bear lake by a route east of the Coppermine river apparently get their copper mainly from Bathurst inlet.

The above-mentioned tribes that come to "Big Stick island" embrace most of the people who seek the kettlestone (soapstone) quarries on the Kōġlūktualuk (Tree river, about long. 117° 30′ on the south coast of Coronation gulf). I have heard of one case from Cape Bexley of a family going all the way to the quarries to get a pot for their own use. This was considered at Cape Bexley a remarkable thing to do and the story is frequently told even now, though the event took place over twenty years ago. The woman of the family is still living. A song she composed to commemorate the event is still one of the most popular songs in Coronation gulf, as well as in the strait. What the eastern limit of the pilgrimages may be, we had no means to determine. It is probably not far east of the Kent peninsula.

But these distant tribes that occasionally send a family to the quarries get most of their pots and lamps by purchase. Wood and stone are, therefore, the export wares of the western half of Coronation gulf to the eastern half of it, to Victoria island, and to the Strait to the west.

The market for wooden wares extends to-day to the north to the extreme limit of the inhabited districts; it may have been so in the past too, when that limit was farther north—Prince Patrick island, Melville island, and the others where ruins testify to a former population that may once have furnished the Gulf with customers. To the west the limit no doubt always was near Cape Bexley and to the east, as now, wares from Akilinik met those from the Gulf halfway. The stoneware has and had a wider field. Banks island and Victoria island almost certainly never had any other source of supply and the islands north of them may not have had any other; to the west Bering strait even may not have been the extreme limit of stone lamps made in the Gulf; to the east, however, there are competing stoneworkers at Back river and perhaps even nearer than that.

The Ekallūktōġmīūt, so far as our inquiries could bring out, have no special commercial resources. They are, however, an important link in the chain of traffic from the Akilinik to Cape Parry and to Alaska—a chain that has now been broken at Nelson head. There are still, however, the important tribe of the Kañhiṙyūắṙmīūt and a remnant of the Kañhiṙyūatjīắġmīūt who deal with Hudson bay chiefly through the Ekallūktōġmīūt. They also meet the Turnunirohiṙmīūt of North Devon and the Netjiliġmīūt of King Williamsland, with whom they have dealings the nature of which we did not make out.

East of Victoria island among the islands and east of Kent peninsula on the mainland, our information is unfortunately as yet too scant to allow us to add anything of value to what was said above in the discussion of the trade routes.

It really follows from the preceding, but may be worth definitely pointing out, that a certain tribal specialization of industries and to a less extent a division of labour among individuals, has resulted from the differing natural resources of the various districts and the attendant intertribal commerce. I have found it characteristic of Eskimo generally (and especially of those west of Cape Parry) that each tribe believes the artifacts made by its own members to be superior to the corresponding articles made by ousiders. A few exceptions are known to me from western Alaska—few because of limited opportunities

of investigation, no doubt, for industries there varied considerably among tribes. By the Port Clarence people the Unalit were considered to excel in the making of wooden ware, and practically none was made by the Port Clarence people, though materials were abundant. They depended almost exclusively on purchase from the Unalit and acted as middlemen between them and Siberia, though they could easily have made their own trading stock had they cared to. The Diomedes people were considered to excel in the making of waterboots and many were purchased of them, though sealskins were plenty at Port Clarence. Stone lamps were made occasionally, but they were considered poor compared with the "lamps from the east." The eastern lamps were supposed to "save oil"—apparently in a (to our minds) miraculous way. It was said that though a home-made lamp were a duplicate in shape and size of the imported article, it would use twice as much oil and give no more light or heat.

Among the Copper Eskimo the Haneṙágmīūt are considered by the Kañhiṙyūáṙmīūt to excel in bow making, though bows are purchased also from the Pūiblíṙmīūt. On the other hand, the sleds and tent sticks purchased of the same two tribes are under a reverse estimation—those from the Pūiblíṙmīūt are preferred. As said above, the Pūiblíṙmīūt make only part of the wooden ware they sell; a large part comes from the Pā́lliṙmīūt and Kōġlūktōġmīūt, who, therefore, deserve much of what credit there is in the sleds, etc., sold to the Kañhiṙyūáṙmīūt. The Kañhiṙyūáṙmīūt make bows only in an extremity, and consider them poor bows.

In general, those who get wood on Dease river finish only a few of the articles intended for sale—they finish all sleds and tent sticks and most tables, lamp stands, and floor planks. Snowshovels, bowls, dishes, etc., are generally sold "in the rough" and finished by the buyer.

Among the Nagyūktōġmīūt I found during the winter 1910-11, that a large snowshovel is one of the most valuable of a man's possessions. One I bought was valued at two butcher knives and sold reluctantly at that, while the same man offered me the better of his two dogs or a big new sled for one knife, selling the shovel for two knives only when he found he could

not get even one of them for anything he had to offer—for I had long tried unsuccessfully to get a shovel.

It may be said, then, that the people who frequent Great Bear lake are not so much manufacturers of wooden ware as the gatherers and distributers of wood.

The people who have access to the mouth of the Kōġlūktualuk are manufacturers of lamps and pots still, though their market now can be but a small fraction of what it once was. To make a large pot (inside measure say 9 × 40 inches and 7 inches deep) is said to take all a man's spare time for a year, and some take two years to the making of a pot. Lamps are more quickly made. Certain individuals are considered expert pot makers, and many others attain old age without ever having made a large pot, though all have owned one or more. A man who spends the summer making a pot must live that summer on fish and must, therefore, to clothe himself and his family, buy caribou for the winter from those who have been at the caribou grounds while he was stonecutting. No man of these tribes probably ever devoted even half the summer of his active life to stonework, yet we have here the beginning of division of labour, the germ of a "trade". These pot and lamp makers furnish the best example known to me both of specialization of industries by tribes and of the division of labour among individuals. The division of labour between the sexes hardly finds a logical place under the title chosen for the present paper, as its dependence on natural resources and commerce is not close nor self-evident, though to a degree there no doubt is such dependence.

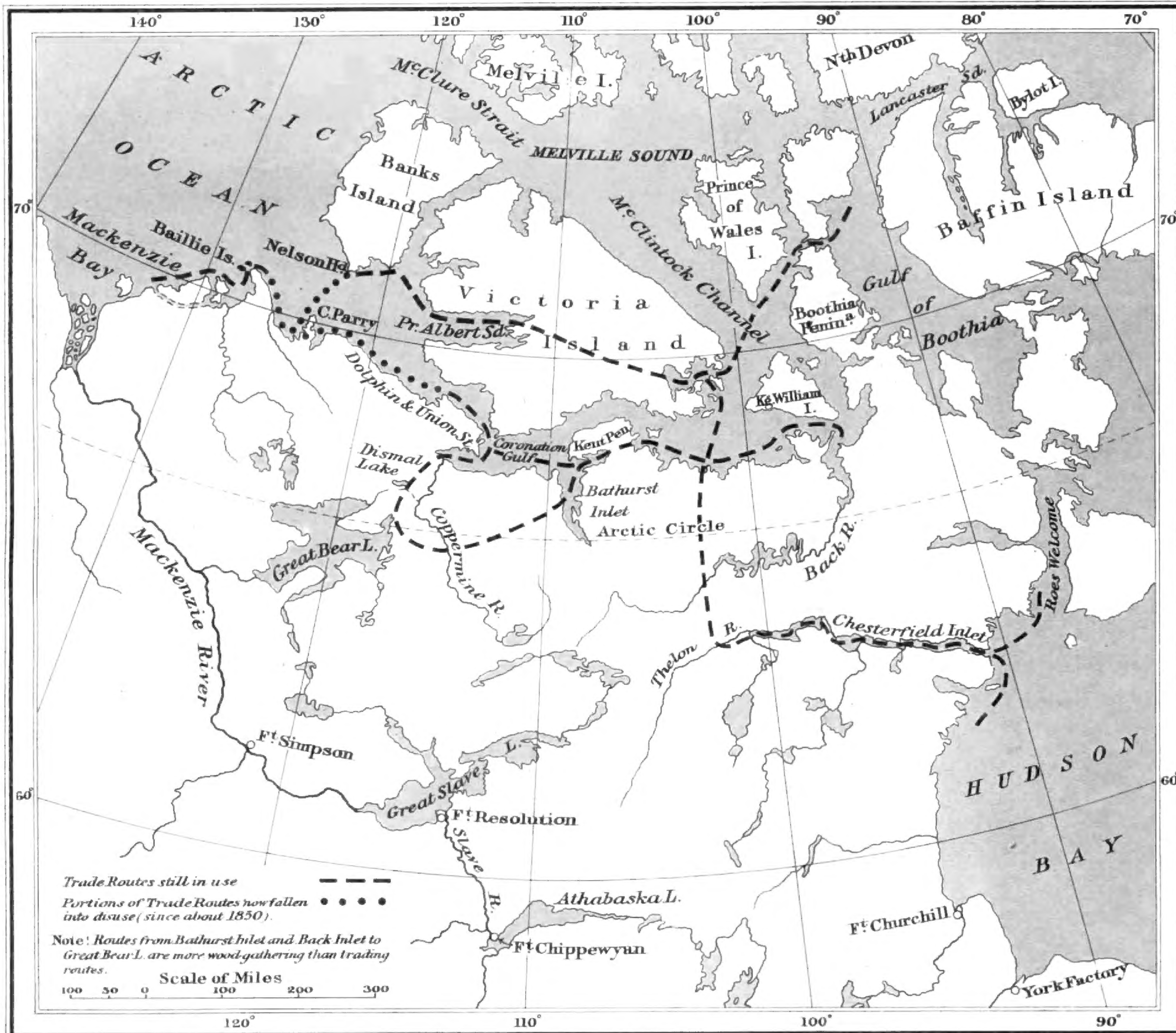
Though the Kañhiṙyūā́ṙmiūt are the largest producers and exporters of copper within the district, they have not developed into manufacturers of copper implements as the tribes near the soapstone quarries have developed into pot-makers, probably because copper is more portable and its uses are more varied—for cutting and stabbing weapons, fish-hooks, tools, shafts and rods, ice picks, patches for articles of horn, bone and wood, rivets, needles, etc. The material for a copper knife weighs less than the made knife—the caribou horn handle can be added by the member of any tribe: a pot probably does not weigh over 10 per cent or 15 per cent of what the block weighed that went to make it,

which explains why the pot must be made by anyone who wishes to profit by the accessibility of pot-stone. The Kañhiryūármīūt do, however, sell a considerable number of made copper snow-knives—long two-handled double-edged knives which they and other tribes copy faithfully in iron, when the iron is available.

The Parry Peninsula
July 25, 1911.

Canada
Department of Mines
HON. L. CODERRE, MINISTER; R.W. BROCK, DEPUTY MINISTER.
GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

OUTLINE MAP



C. O. Senécal, Geographer and Chief Draughtsman.
R. B. Yorston, Draughtsman.

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MAP 102 A
(Issued 1914)

ESKIMO TRADE ROUTES, ARCTIC COAST, CANADA.

To accompany Paper by V. S. Stefánsson